

# Democratic Kampuchea

a Workers' and Peasants' State  
in South-East Asia





# DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

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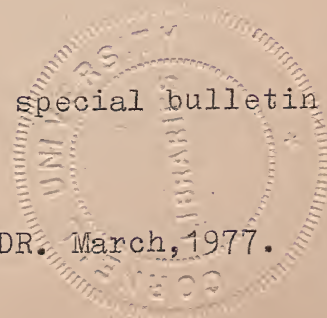
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The English translation of the texts of this special bulletin  
is not official.

Embassy of Democratic Kampuchea in Berlin, GDR. March, 1977.



## Introduction :

### 1977 BEGINS WITH A GOOD HARVEST OF RICE

The year 1977 opens at a moment when the revolution of Kampuchea, the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world and the struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned countries and of the Third World is in an excellent situation.

During the past year the people and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have, under the correct and farsighted leadership of the Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea, held fast to the principle of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance, of being masters of their own and their country's destiny, have continued their tradition of revolutionary heroism and spirit of sublime sacrifice, and have won brilliant victories in the work of rebuilding the economy, of national defence and reconstruction as well as in defending the achievements of the revolution and in improving standards of living. Taking agriculture as the basis of economic reconstruction, we have obtained encouraging results in all fields during the year 1976. The harvest of that year achieved the objectives laid down in the plan. It is better than the year before. It covers national consumption and constitutes capital for the defence and reconstruction of the country. What is more important still, economic rebuilding, national defence and reconstruction soared prodigiously. This can be seen in the great and impetuous mass-movements all over the country which have profound revolutionary significance unprecedented in our history.

These great mass-movements, especially the great movement for water control by the reconstruction of a system of dykes, canals, dams and reservoirs, the movement for production of natural fertilizer and the movement for innovation and invention in the field of industry, have radically changed the outlook and mentality of our people according to the line of independence, sovereignty, self-reliance, and to the spirit of collectivity.

At the same time we have successfully consolidated and developed the revolutionary power of the people of workers and peasants.

All these victories were won at the cost of an unyielding and complex struggle after the devastating war of aggression of the most ferocious American imperialists and their lackeys.

These first results and these great, impetuous and ardent mass-movements strengthen our confidence in the brilliant future of our people and our nation.



The victories our people have won are certainly due to the correct and farsighted leadership of the Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea and to the sublime heroism of our people. But they are likewise due to the aid and support of friendly peoples and countries, far or near in the world. We wish to take this occasion to renew to all of them our warmest thanks.

We consider all these results obtained by our people in the work of national defence and reconstruction in this new stage of the revolution of Kampuchea, as a modest contribution to the common cause of the revolution in the world and to the struggle of all peace- and justice-loving peoples, especially to the struggle of the peoples of the non-aligned countries and of the Third World.

( Extract from a speech by Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister in Charge of Foreign Affairs, delivered at a solemn reception in honour of the diplomatic corps in Phnom Penh to celebrate the new year 1977. )





**This year's good rice-harvest fully satisfies national consumption. Reserves could be stored and seed stocks doubled. Furthermore, there is a surplus for export.**

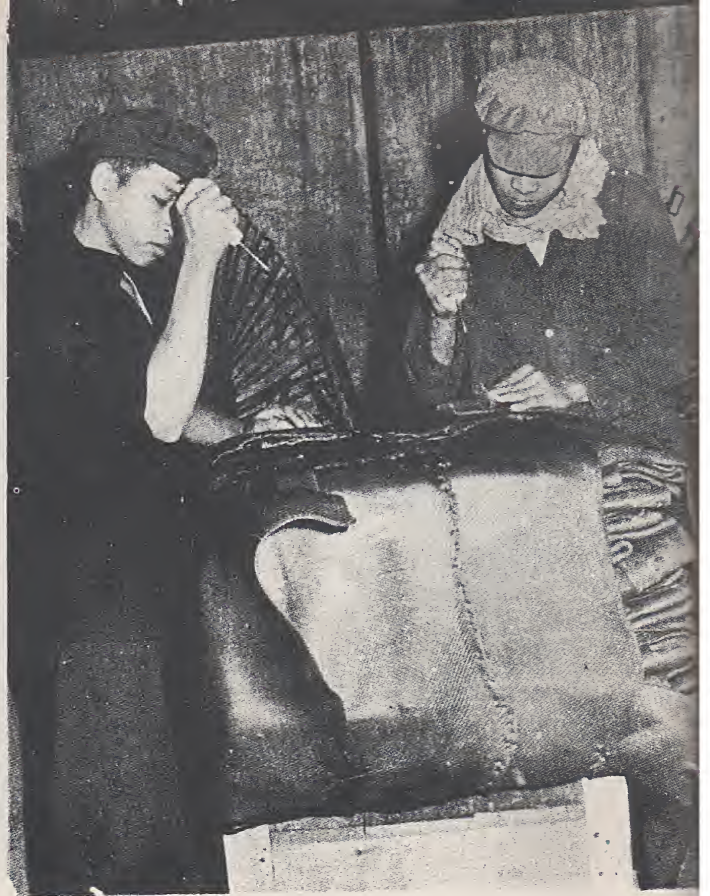
*The members of a cooperative are bringing in the harvest.*







*Transforming liquid latex into crepe-rubber in a factory in the North Region.*



*Rubber is the second most important product after rice.*

*The big lake „Tonlé Sap“ is full of fish (more than 10 tons per square kilometre). After being caught, the fish are (for instance) salted and dried.*





Adopted by the Third National Congress on December 14, 1975, and put into force as from January 5, 1976.

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Considering the Resolution of the Special National Congress held on April 25, 26 and 27th, 1975, which solemnly proclaimed its recognition and respect of the above-mentioned aspirations of the whole people and of the whole Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea;



The Constitution of Kampuchea stipulates the following:

#### CHAPTER I

##### ABOUT STATE ADMINISTRATION

###### Article 1:

The State of Kampuchea is an independent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned, sovereign and democratic State with territorial integrity.

The State of Kampuchea is the State of the workers, peasants and other labourers of Kampuchea.

The official name of the State of Kampuchea is: DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA.

#### CHAPTER II

##### ABOUT ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION

###### Article 2:

All important means of production are the collective property of the people's State and the collective property of the communally organized people.

Articles for everyday use remain the personal property of the individual.

#### CHAPTER III

##### ABOUT CULTURE

###### Article 3:

The culture of Democratic Kampuchea is national, popular, progressive and wholesome, serving the tasks of defending and edifying a Kampuchea becoming more prosperous every day.

The new culture resolutely fights against the depraved and reactionary culture of the oppressive classes, of colonialism and imperialism in Kampuchea.

#### CHAPTER IV

##### ABOUT THE PRINCIPLE OF DIRECTION AND OF WORK

###### Article 4:

Democratic Kampuchea applies the collective principle in direction and in work.

#### CHAPTER V

##### ABOUT THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

###### Article 5:

The legislative power lies with the Assembly of workers, peasants and other labourers' representatives.



The official name of this Assembly is: ASSEMBLY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES OF KAMPUCHEA.

The Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea has 250 members representing workers, peasants, other labourers and the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea distributed as follows:

- Representatives of peasants:.....150
- Representatives of workers and other labourers:50
- Representatives of the Revolutionary Army:.....50

#### Article 6:

Members of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea are chosen every 5 years by the people, through general election and secret and direct vote.

#### Article 7:

The Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea passes laws and defines Democratic Kampuchea's internal and external political lines.

### CHAPTER VI

#### ABOUT THE EXECUTIVE ORGAN

#### Article 8:

The Government is an organ in charge of executing laws and implementing all political lines defined by the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea.

The Government is designated by the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea. It is fully responsible to this Assembly for all its activities inside and outside the country.

### CHAPTER VII

#### ABOUT THE JUDICIARY ORGAN

#### Article 9:

Justice is exercised by the people. The people's courts represent and guarantee the people's justice, defend the people's democratic liberties and punish any act directed against the people's State or violating the laws of the people's State.

The courts of different levels are chosen and designated by the Assembly of the People's Representatives.

#### Article 10:

The following acts violate the laws of the people's State:

- systematic hostile or destructive activities that endanger the people's State, receive the most severe punishment.
- other activities, besides the above mentioned, are treated by means of reeducation within the State's or the people's organisations.



## CHAPTER VIII

### ABOUT THE PRESIDIUM OF THE STATE

#### Article 11:

Democratic Kampuchea has a Presidium of the State, chosen and designated every 5 years by the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea.

The Presidium of the State is charged with representing the State of Democratic Kampuchea inside and outside the country, within the limits of the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea and in conformity with the laws and political lines defined by the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea.

- The Presidium of the State is composed of:
  - a President
  - a first Vice-President
  - a second Vice-President.

## CHAPTER IX

### ABOUT THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF EVERY CITIZEN OF KAMPUCHEA

#### Article 12:

Every citizen of Kampuchea has the full right to enjoy material, moral and cultural life, which is to be constantly improved. Every citizen of Kampuchea has all his means of existence fully secured.

Every worker is the master of his factory.  
 Every peasant is the master of his ricefields and lands.  
 All other labourers have the right to work.  
 There exist absolutely no unemployment in Democratic Kampuchea.

#### Article 13:

A full equality among all citizens of Kampuchea should prevail in a society based on equality, justice, democracy, harmony, happiness, in the great national unity to defend and edify the country together.

Men and women are equal in every field.  
 Polygamy and polyandry are prohibited.

#### Article 14:

Every citizen of Kampuchea has the duty to defend and edify the country in accordance with his abilities and his possibilities.

## CHAPTER X

### ABOUT THE CAPITAL

#### Article 15:

The capital of Democratic Kampuchea is PHNOM PENH

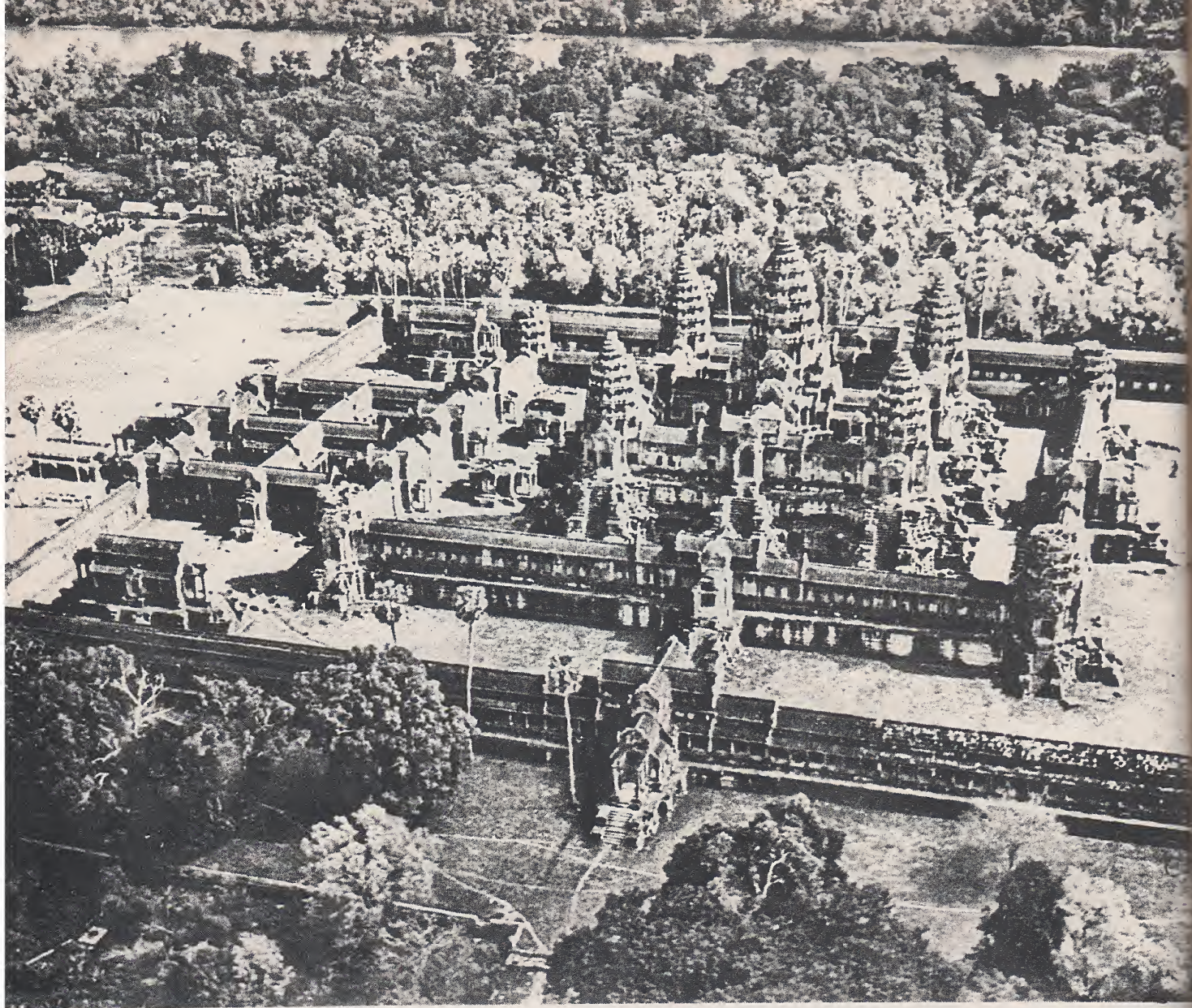


National Armorial Bearings



National Flag





The marvellous Monuments of Angkor that the whole humanity considers as the master-piece of the working people of Kampuchea



## CHAPTER XI

### ABOUT THE NATIONAL FLAG

#### Article 16:

The National Flag of Kampuchea has the following form and signification:

The ground colour is red. In the center is a design of a monument with three towers in yellow colour.

The red ground symbolizes the revolutionary movement, the resolute and valiant struggle of the people of Kampuchea for national liberation and national defense and edification.

The monument of yellow colour symbolizes the national tradition and the people of Kampuchea, defending and edifying a country more and more glorious.

## CHAPTER XII

### ABOUT THE NATIONAL ARMORIAL BEARINGS

#### Article 17:

The National Armorial Bearings are made of a system of dikes and irrigation canals symbolizing modern agriculture, and a factory symbolizing industry, enclosed within two arc-shaped sheaves of paddy, and bearing the inscription: DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA, below.

## CHAPTER XIII

### ABOUT THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

#### Article 18:

The National Anthem of Democratic Kampuchea is "GLORIOUS APRIL 17th".

## CHAPTER XIV

### ABOUT THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA

#### Article 19:

The Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea with its three categories: regular, regional and guerilleros, is the Army of the People, the men and women fighters and cadres are the sons and daughters of workers, peasants and other labourers. It defends the people's power in Kampuchea and defends the independent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned, sovereign, democratic Kampuchea in her territorial integrity. At the same time, it takes part in the edification of a country more and more glorious and in the constant improvement of the people's standard of living which is to be more and more prosperous.



CHAPTER XV

## ABOUT BELIEFS AND RELIGIONS

## Article 20:

Every citizen of Kampuchea has the right to have any belief and religion, and has the right to have neither belief nor religion.

Any reactionary religion harming Democratic Kampuchea and her people is strictly prohibited.

CHAPTER XVI

## ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY

## Article 21:

Democratic Kampuchea is endowed with goodwill and firmly determined to maintain close and friendly relations with all countries having common borders with her, and with all countries throughout the world, near or far, on the strict basis of mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Democratic Kampuchea abides by a policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. No foreign country whatever is allowed to establish military bases on her territory. She stands resolutely against all foreign interference in her internal affairs and fights resolutely against all subversive and aggressive acts from outside, whether military, political, cultural, economical, social, diplomatical or presented as so-called humanitarian acts.

Democratic Kampuchea never interferes in any way in the internal affairs of other countries. She scrupulously abides by the principles that every country is sovereign and has the right to dispose and decide by itself its internal affairs without foreign interference.

Democratic Kampuchea resolutely remains in the great family of non-aligned countries.

Democratic Kampuchea does her utmost to develop her solidarity with the Third World peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and with all peace- and justice-loving peoples in the world, and to foster active mutual aid and support in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, for genuine independence, peace, friendship, democracy, justice and progress in the world.

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THE PEOPLE OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA HAILS THE VICTORIES  
OF THE 5th SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

The 5th Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries which took place from August 16 to August 19, 1976, achieved brilliant victories. It adopted a Political Declaration, an Economic Declaration and a number of other documents which reinforce the principles of non-alignment, enhance the role of this Movement and confirm the resolute solidarity of the non-aligned countries in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and against the interferences, interventions, aggressions and against the expansionism of the rich great powers, for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right of each people to determine the destiny of its nation by itself in full independence and sovereignty.

To be sure, the Conference took place in an atmosphere of confidence, solidarity and optimism due to the victories in the political, armed and economic struggle won by the peoples of the world and the non-aligned countries and also due to their growing political awareness and organizational progress. But the Conference has been the object of pressure, slander and other perfidious activities undertaken by the rich great powers who are trying to control and divide the non-aligned movement. Thus, the splendid results of the Conference have a deep significance and permit us to consider the Conference in Colombo as an important stage in the movement of non-aligned countries since the 4th Summit Conference in Algiers.

The 5th Conference extended a warm welcome to a number of countries that, having won brilliant victories over imperialism and colonialism, have become full members of the great family of the non-aligned countries. Their presence increases still more the power of the non-aligned movement and secures its growing influence in the international arena.

The Political Declaration stressed that the non-aligned movement "constitutes an immense power in the struggle against imperialism and foreign control in all its forms and manifestations, and that it defends the right of each people to self-determination and the right of each country to settle its internal affairs in full independence and sovereignty. Furthermore it expressed resolute opposition to any form of military, political, economic or other interference in the internal affairs of any state."

The Conference likewise expressed its opposition to the struggle for influence which the rich great powers are



waging on all continents and which is the underlying cause of international tension. The Conference emphasized that the non-aligned countries must remain on their guard and double the efforts in order to combat the political, economic and ideological pressure of the rich great powers and they must be united and wage an active struggle on the basis of friendship, cooperation and mutual respect. They must mobilize all their strength to safeguard their national independence and sovereignty.

Referring to the Indian Ocean, the Conference denounced the rivalry of the great maritime powers who are quarrelling over this Ocean and demanded the dismantling of their military bases and installations and logistic supply centres, the withdrawal of all their weapons, including nuclear weapons, and the suppression of all military presence of great maritime power in this region, for it constitutes a threat to the independence, sovereignty, integrity and security of the countries in this region.

Furthermore the Conference renewed its support for the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people who are struggling against the splittist schemes of the American imperialists seeking to maintain their domination over South Korea, and for the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea. It likewise supports the struggle of the Palestinian people against the Israeli Zionists for its fundamental national rights, the struggle of the Arab peoples for the recovery of their territories, as well as the manifold struggle, including armed struggle, of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania against colonialism and white racism for their independence and the struggle of all peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for their fundamental national rights.

In the Economic Declaration, the 5th Summit Conference stressed that the struggle to establish a new international economic order is a political struggle of far-reaching consequences and that the great powers are entirely responsible for the grave situation existing in the developing countries. In order to bring about the establishment of a new international economic order, the non-aligned countries must therefore actively unite to wage a struggle against the aggressions and interferences, committed under whatever pretext, by the rich great powers. At the same time they must undertake every effort to overcome all obstacles, build up their own national economy and strengthen their cooperation based on the principle of mutual respect.

The Conference also took note of the aspirations of the peoples of Asia for independence and sovereignty.

The Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries "warmly saluted the glorious and historic victory of the heroic people of Kampuchea over the war of aggression of the American imperialists on April 17, 1975", and confirmed once again "their unwavering solidarity with the struggle of the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea to build up the economy, to establish a new, truly democratic and prosperous





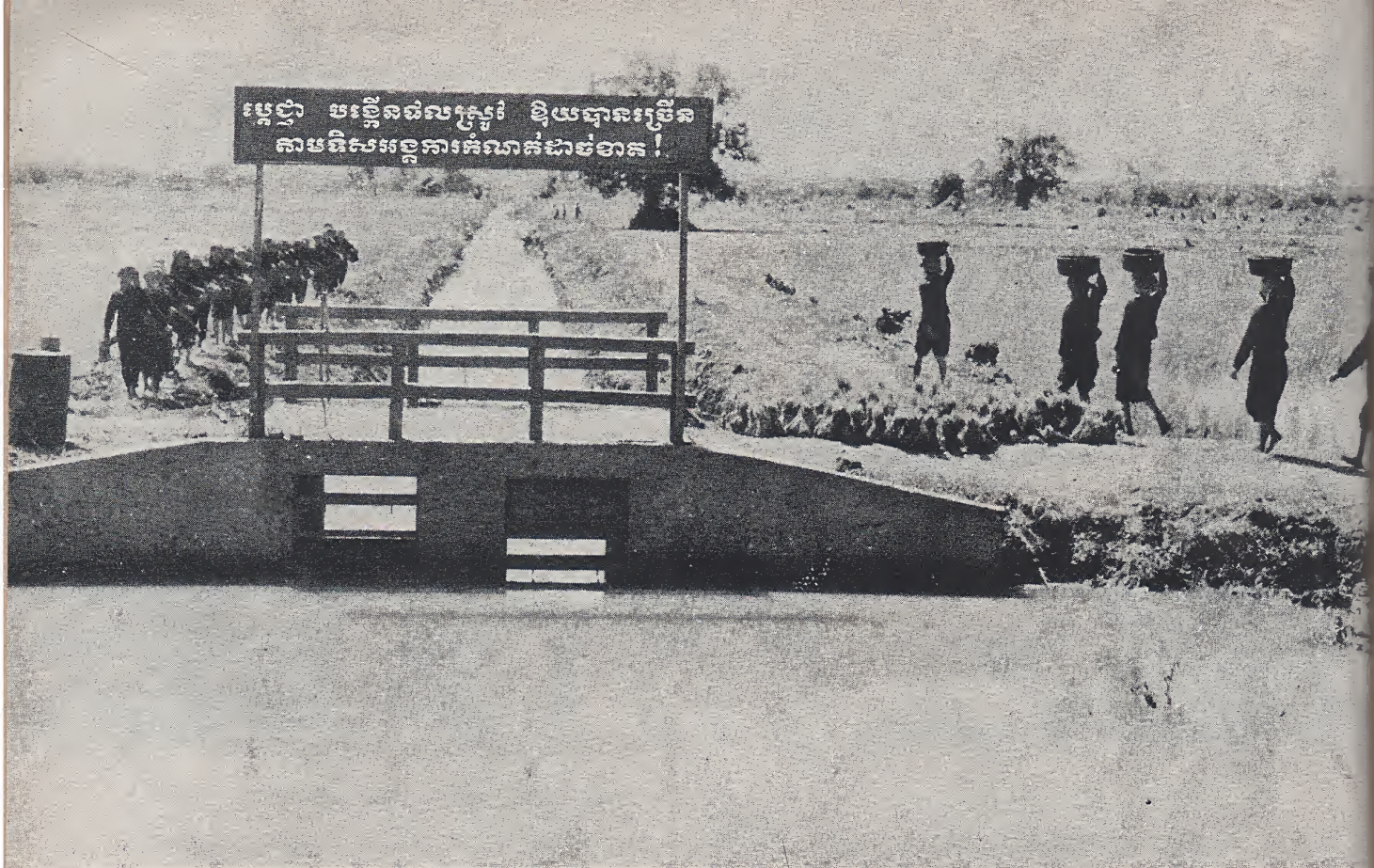
*The President of the Presidium of the State Khieu Samphan speaking during the Conference.*

At the Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries in Colombo, our Delegation solemnly confirmed once more the place of Democratic Kampuchea in the world: „Democratic Kampuchea resolutely remains in the great family of non-aligned countries“.

*Heads of State and Government taking part in the Conference of Colombo.*







*A canal of the Meak cooperative (Stung Trang, North Zone)*

**New face of the countryside of Kampuchea**

*Young peasant women of the O-Béng cooperative spreading fertilizer on the rice-shoots.*





society and to defend the achievements of the victory, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against all foreign interference."

Then, expressing high appreciation of the immense sacrifices of the people of Kampuchea, and the correct line of being independent and sovereign, of relying on its own efforts and being master of its own destiny, the Conference pointed out that the victories of our people contribute significantly to enhancing and consolidating the non-aligned principles and to the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and every act of aggression and interference coming from outside. The Conference congratulated Democratic Kampuchea on her constant loyalty to the non-aligned principles and paid tribute to her unshakeable determination to defend these principles.

The people of Kampuchea warmly hail the victories of the 5th Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries which consolidate the non-aligned principles, enhance the non-aligned movement and strengthen the solidarity within its ranks. At the same time our people pays tribute to the efforts undertaken by the friendly delegations to make a success of the Conference and especially it honours the great contribution made by the Government and people of Sri Lanka.

In contributing to the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the world, to the liberation struggle of the brotherly countries of the Third World and to the strengthening of the cause of the great non-aligned family, the people of Kampuchea is determined to carry out the revolution successfully in its own country, to build up its economy and edify its country according to the principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance. At the same time the people of Kampuchea will do its utmost physically and morally to make common cause with the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the world and the struggle of the brotherly peoples in the Third World for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, liberty, democracy, friendship and social progress. This is a noble revolutionary task which our people must fulfil.



ON CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

Speech by Ieng Sary, Deputy-Prime Minister in Charge of Foreign Affairs, Head of the Delegation of Democratic Kampuchea at the 31st Session of the United Nations Organization General Assembly

- New York, October 6, 1976 -

Mr. President,

The Delegation of Democratic Kampuchea is happy to extend its heartiest congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the work of this 31st Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The responsibility confided to you is a moving sign of esteem towards your country, Sri Lanka, for its constant policy of independence, peace and non-alignment. And since at the moment Sri Lanka presides over the group of non-aligned countries, this is at the same time a moving sign of esteem to the whole Movement and to the principles of non-alignment. We are convinced that under your presidency our work will bring great successes.

We also extend our warmest congratulations to His Excellency Mr. Gaston Thorn, President of the 30th Session of our General Assembly, for the successes he achieved in his high function. Finally we are happy to express our sincere congratulations and to heartily welcome the Republic of Seychelles in the midst of our Organization.

We deeply regret the fact that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is still prevented from taking part in our work, although it fulfils all the requirements of the Charter. The United States of America have decided to abuse their Veto once again without any valid reason. This shows contempt of the will of all peace- and justice- loving peoples and is at the same time a flagrant provocation of the international community. We renew here our firm support of the candidature of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for membership in our international Organization. We renew likewise our support of the candidature of the People's Republic of Angola, whose absence in our midst we regret.

Mr. President,

The 31st Regular Session of our General Assembly takes place at a time when all the peoples of the world and especially the peoples of the non-aligned countries and of the Third World are waging a victorious struggle everywhere against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism and all forms of foreign interference, aggression, expansionism and exploitation, for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, for the right to determine their own destiny and for the establishment of a new international economic order on the basis of justice and equality.



The success of the recent 5th Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries in Colombo confirmed this irresistible movement of the peoples' struggle on all levels: the political, military, diplomatic, economic, organizational,..., for their liberty, their dignity and social progress.

We are living in a world which is undergoing a deep and rapid change. In the course of the last three decades, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America - for centuries exploited and oppressed - have awakened, have recognized their own power and above all, taking up arms, have engaged in acute and complex struggles costing many a sacrifice, in order to liberate themselves from the unjust system of old and new colonialism and to cast off all shackles of foreign domination and exploitation. In a hard struggle, they have gained their liberty, their independence and their dignity, they have recovered the right to determine their own destiny. Step by step, these victories have made the very fundamentals of the colonial and neo-colonial system tremble. They open up the way towards complete liberation for all Mankind. The desire for national independence will finally triumph everywhere. No power in the world can suppress the peoples' determination to recover their liberty, their dignity and their national identity.

Dozens of new independent states are arising from the ruins of colonialism, determined to engage in the struggle to defend and consolidate their political and economic independence, their sovereignty and territorial integrity against all acts of domination, exploitation, interference and aggression on the part of the rich great powers. They mobilize their whole potential and all their capacities in order to implement their inalienable right to sovereignty over their national resources and to build a new society in accordance with the aspirations of their people and the specific conditions of their nation. Scarred by the same fate in the past under colonialist regimes, linked together by common goals and interests, these independent states of the Third World reject by common consent the outlived international relations which are based upon inequality and dependence. They call forcefully for the establishment of new relations between the peoples and nations, in accordance with the significant changes which have taken place in the world, and based on the principles of mutual respect of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, mutual advantage, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and the right of every people to manage its own affairs.

These are the principles of the non-aligned Movement. Born from the categorical rejection of bloc politics and from the compelling necessity for the newly-independent states to preserve and consolidate their hard-earned liberty and sovereignty against the ambitions, the greed and the expansionist designs of the rich great powers, the non-aligned Movement demonstrated its vitality and energy once again at the recent 5th Summit Conference of Colombo. Together with all other forces of the Third World and all peace- and justice-loving forces in the world, the non-aligned Movement has become a



current of unprecedented significance and strength which is shaking the foundations of the ever-changing world. The principles of non-alignment, inspired by justice and fairness, express the profound aspirations and the firm will of the Third-World countries which encompass almost three quarters of our planet's population and constitute the majority of the member-states of our international community. And thanks to the steadfast efforts of the non-aligned Movement, the rest of the world can no longer overlook these principles. The unity of the non-aligned countries, founded on these principles and on clear aims in struggle, their resolute action founded on the solidarity of those Third-World countries which are united in the "Group of 77" constitute a powerful force. During the past years, the non-aligned Movement has launched important initiatives for a more realistic and just conception of the relations between peoples and nations. The 3rd UNO Sea Law Conference was convoked on the suggestion of the 3rd Summit Conference of Non-aligned Countries in Lusaka in 1970. The struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order was initiated by the 4th Summit Conference of Algiers in 1973, which called on ONU to convoke the 6th and 7th Special Sessions of its General Assembly. In addition, the Conference of Manila, the 4th UNCTAD Conference in Nairobi and, most recently, the Conference of Mexico City show the energy and solidarity which inspire the "Group of 77" in its efforts to realize a new international economic order.

Thus the voice of the non-aligned countries and of the Third World has become a voice which the world community cannot ignore in all its debates and in search for solutions to international problems. The emergence of numerous independent Third-World states, the energy and vitality of the non-aligned movement have changed the face of the world, which no longer corresponds to the image fashioned by the great rich powers when UNO was founded, at a time when the international relations of domination and dependence had not yet been questioned.

Mr. President,

The people of Kampuchea has not kept aside from the world's upheavals. Together with all the other peoples it has actively taken part in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to liberate itself from all forms of domination, oppression and exploitation. Our people never accepted the yoke of the colonialist and neo-colonialist system which was imposed on us for over a century and against which our people fought from the beginning, gaining successive victories in a long, difficult and unyielding struggle on the political, military and diplomatic levels, leading to the total victory over the American imperialists' war of aggression on April 17, 1975. This glorious victory is of a great historical significance for the people and nation of Kampuchea, for it marks their total and final liberation from imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of domination and exploitation. Our whole nation has regained its soul and its identity. Our people has regained its dignity and holds its destiny firmly



in its own hands, in complete independence and sovereignty. April 17, 1975 is also a victory of the unwavering solidarity with the struggle of the people of Kampuchea shown by the non-aligned and Third-World peoples and countries and by all peace- and justice-loving peoples and countries in the world, including the people, the youth, progressive and peace-loving political personalities of the United States of America. And, finally, it is a victory of the policy of independence, peace and non-alignment over the politics of domination, oppression, exploitation, interference and aggression.

In order to achieve this victory our nation and our people had to bear immense sacrifices. More than one million inhabitants were killed or wounded, that is about 13% of the total population. The economy was devastated. The means and instruments of production were largely destroyed: hundreds of thousands of cattle and water buffaloes, necessary for agricultural work, were killed; 70-80% of the factories, plantations, lands, rice-fields, forests were destroyed; 60-80% of the means of communication (bridges, roads, railroads, harbours,...); hundreds of villages and urban settlements were razed to the ground and wiped off the map.

Our nation and our people took these grievous sacrifices upon themselves for the love of their motherland, for the liberation of their country and for their own liberation, for national honour and dignity, democracy, peace and territorial integrity and also for the sake of solidarity with the peoples of the world, with the national liberation movements and democratic movements, for the sake of world peace.

Immediately after liberation, these self-same motives led our people on to engage in a vast and impetuous nation-wide revolutionary mass-movement to accomplish two tasks: defence and reconstruction of our country.

Since the liberation we have successfully defended and consolidated the achievements of the revolution. Security prevails throughout our territory. However, even after their defeat, the American imperialists, their lackeys and the other reactionary forces incessantly continue to afflict our country, our people and our revolution - this is what our own experiences and those of the other revolutions in the world teach us. Since it is impossible or at least difficult for them to attack us openly from outside, they take great pains to reassemble the remnants of the traitors' forces in order to carry out subversive, provocative, disruptive and undermining activities in the interior of our country. and to interfere with our internal affairs. Thanks to our continuous revolutionary vigilance and close unity, our nation, our people and our army have inflicted severe defeats on the enemy. But the American imperialists, their lackeys and the other reactionary forces, guided by their aggressive nature and blinded by their excessive ambitions, refuse to draw the lessons from their defeat and obstinately pursue their criminal activities. No doubt our people and our revolutionary armed forces will inflict further new and shameful defeats on the enemy in complete independence and sovereignty.



Since the war we have solved step by step the problems posed by economic reconstruction in the fields of agriculture, handicraft, industry, social services, etc. We have, in particular, fundamentally solved the food problem. Our population need not be anxious about famine. We shall continue to solve our problems successfully in order to build an independent economy, without which genuine political independence cannot exist. In this new stage of its struggle our people still unwaveringly upholds the political line which led to the historic victory of April 17, 1975, that is, the line of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance. Enthusiastically and in a spirit of national unity our people continues to give proof of its creative power, determination and revolutionary vigilance.

Many friendly peoples and countries have shown their support and encouraged us to pursue our course. Their support and aid have contributed to strengthen our independence, our sovereignty and territorial integrity and to bind the ties of friendship between our peoples and our countries. We are happy to renew here expressions of the deep gratitude of our people and our Government to all these friendly peoples and countries.

Our people has always wanted to live in peace and liberty within its own borders and to build a society in accordance with its profound aspirations. Although subjected to aggression, dominated, enslaved for many centuries, and although a large part of our national territory was amputated, our people has no feelings of contempt or hostility and no plans of intervention, aggression or expansion towards any other people or country. In her foreign relations, Democratic Kampuchea will always continue to follow a policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. This is a strategic and non-occasional option, for it is in line with the aspirations of our people, its culture, its history and with the geographical situation of our country. As a non-aligned country, Democratic Kampuchea respects and conscientiously practices the principles of non-alignment, which correspond to the fundamental principles laid down in the United Nations Charter. Democratic Kampuchea neither participates in any alliance nor in any regional association. She resists the establishment of any foreign military bases on her territory and all forms of intervention and interference with her internal affairs. Our people resolutely defends its independence, national sovereignty, territorial integrity and its inalienable right to determine its own destiny, for which it has fought so hard and sacrificed so much. At the same time, Democratic Kampuchea continues her efforts to establish and maintain close relations with her neighbours and with all the other countries of the world, based on the strict mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, of the principle of equality and mutual advantages. Democratic Kampuchea never interferes with internal affairs of other countries. She conscientiously respects the sovereign right of every country to dispose and decide its own affairs without any foreign interference. As in the past, Democratic Kampuchea will continue to show active solidarity and firm





*Repairing the motors of boats that the enemy destroyed before its defeat.*



*At the Phnom Penh shipyard, construction of the hull of a 500-ton ship (in metal).*

*Standardized production of small wooden boats for river transport.*





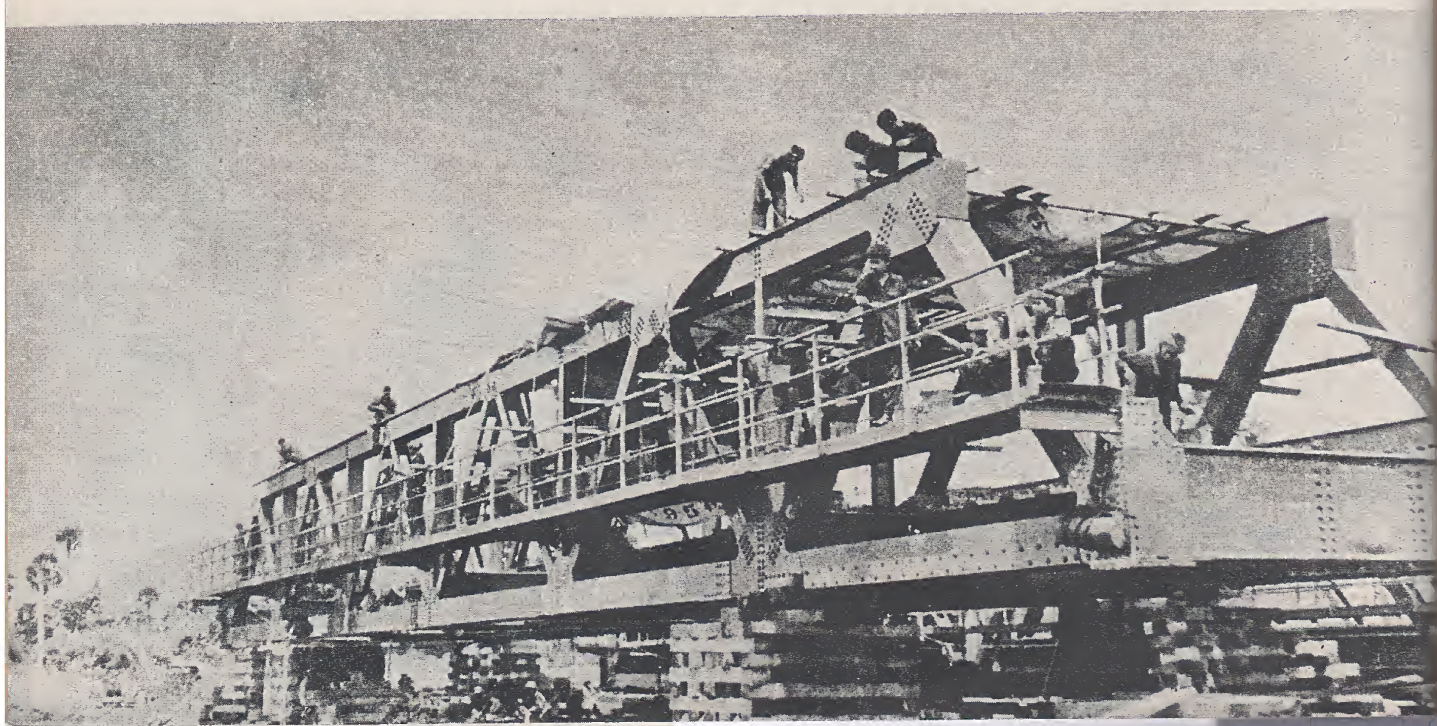


*Connecting the electric wires for a factory recently built.*



*A hydro-electric dam built by the peasants of a cooperative in the West Zone.*

*Bridge construction on the Kamchay River (Kampot).*





support to all movements of struggle of the peoples for independence, liberty, democracy and social progress, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism and all other forms of foreign domination and exploitation.

Mr. President,

The irresistible strength of the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and peoples strikes imperialism and all the forces of foreign domination and exploitation with dread, and they multiply their activities aimed at strengthening their last bastions, preserving their privileges and subduing the aspirations of the peoples for liberty, justice and social progress.

Firstly, Korea has been divided for more than 30 years, because the United States of America obstinately pursue their policy of "two Koreas" and their domination of the Southern part of Korea. In contempt of the North-South Joint Statement of June 4, 1972, and the Resolution 3390 B of the 30th Session of the UNO General Assembly they have reinforced their occupation forces in South Korea and have introduced great quantities of modern weapons, including nuclear weapons, into the country. They have drawn up plans to attack and occupy the Democratic People's Republic of Korea within a few days. In South Korea, the neo-colonialist regime arrests, imprisons and murders Korean patriots found guilty of demanding the independent and peaceful reunification of their motherland.

All these facts clearly show that the United States of America and the regime in Seoul are actively preparing new aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and that the American forces stationed in South Korea are in fact the main obstacle to the reunification of Korea and constitute a serious threat to peace in this part of the world.

Democratic Kampuchea firmly supports the 3 principles and the orientation in five points put forward by President KIM IL SUNG to solve the Korean problem. The Korean problem can only be solved in accordance with Resolution 3390 B (XXX), that is, by putting an end to the intervention and aggression of the United States of America in Korea, totally withdrawing the American forces and their military equipment, including nuclear weapons, from South Korea, dissolving the so-called "U.N. High Command" and replacing the provisional Armistice Agreement by a Peace Agreement.

Secondly, it would be in vain to hope to establish lasting peace in the Middle East until the Palestinian people have recovered their inalienable national rights. Thanks to the help of the United States of America, Israeli zionism continues to lay obstacles in the path of all efforts and all pertinent UNO resolutions aimed at solving the problem. It obstinately pursues its aggression against the Palestinian and Arab peoples and refuses the Palestinian people the exercise of its inalienable national rights recognized by Resolution 3236 (XXIX) of the U.N. General Assembly. What is



more, it is stepping up the establishment of colonial settlements in the Arab territories it occupies by force. Democratic Kampuchea has always firmly supported the just struggle of the Palestinian people and will continue to do so until the Palestinian people can exercise their inalienable national rights, including their rights of self-determination, independence and of sovereignty, and until the Palestinian people can enjoy the inalienable right to return to its homeland and to its property from which it was expelled and uprooted.

We are glad to see the important progress made by the Palestinian Liberation Organization which is recognized by the UNO, the group of non-aligned countries, the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity and by the growing majority of the international community.

Democratic Kampuchea will also continue to firmly support the just struggle of the other Arab peoples to recover their territories which Israeli zionism has occupied by force since 1967.

We are firmly convinced that thanks to their solidary, persevering, unyielding and resolute struggle, and to the solidarity of all peace- and justice-loving peoples, the just and sacred cause of the Palestinian people and the other Arab peoples will triumph.

Thirdly, Taiwan has not yet been able to be reintegrated into its motherland, as a result of the intervention and military occupation by the United States of America which has lasted already more than 27 years. We renew our firm and constant support of the People's Republic of China in its struggle for the respect of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity and for the return of this island to its motherland.

Fourthly, the problems of decolonialization are still acute. In East Timor, the people is still refused independence, which it had, nevertheless, already attained at a great cost, after a long and brave fight. Indeed, on the very morrow of that independence, the country was attacked and then forcefully annexed. The 30th UNO General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted resolutions calling for withdrawal of all foreign troops, the respect of East Timor's territorial integrity and of its people's inalienable rights of self-determination and independence by all countries. These resolutions are most appropriate, even though the robber country continues to ignore them. The annexion of East Timor is an act perpetrated in blatant contempt for the aspirations of its people. The just struggle of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor under the leadership of FRETILIN to recover their independence has the support and active solidarity of Democratic Kampuchea. Neither force nor deceit will be able to weaken the will for independence of the people of East Timor.

This will for independence proves its unprecedented power in Southern Africa today, which has become the main scene of



decolonialization. The racist minority regimes in Salisbury and Pretoria have rejected all the decisions of UNO and have refused the offer of peaceful transition as contained in the Declaration of Lusaka. With the help of other imperialist powers they aggravate repression, reinforce their fascist domination, intensify their preparations for war and multiply their manoeuvres to disunite the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Azania. Massacres such as that of Soveto, arrests, detention, torture and deportation of the civil population are still being carried out and are veritable provocations of the international community. But the peoples of Southern Africa have reached the point where they will no longer silently endure humiliations, slavery and injustice on account of the colour of their skin. They have determinedly intensified their fight against the inhuman and oppressive system of apartheid and racial discrimination in order to recover liberty, justice and human dignity. We express our complete solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania as well as with all the friendly countries in this region of Southern Africa who have taken energetic measures against the racist regimes in Salisbury and Pretoria in support of this struggle. As a result of their resolute and steadfast struggle, their unity and their vigilance against the disruptive manoeuvres of imperialism and all forces of foreign domination, the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania shall attain their independence and human dignity. This fight has received significant encouragement from all African countries. United at the 13th Summit Meeting of the OAU, they issued a resounding call to step up the armed struggle and decided to supply a maximum of political, economic and military aid to this purpose. This is a just position that shows that Africa belongs to the Africans and that the decolonialization of the African continent is the work of the peoples of Africa. We express our all-out support of this just position as well as of all the efforts of the African peoples towards the total decolonialization of Africa.

In this spirit we renew our unwavering solidarity with the struggle of the people of Comoro for the respect of its national unity, its sovereignty and its territorial integrity, which must be realized by the reintegration of the Mayotte Island into the Archipelago.

As far as West Sahara is concerned, we are - in line with our constant stand - of the opinion that this problem should be solved on the basis of the principle of self-determination. We are confident that the OAU Summit Meeting will be able to take decisions in accordance with the spirit of friendship and solidarity between the states of the region. Furthermore, we firmly support the liberation movements of the Latin American peoples. We renew our solidarity with the people and Government of Cuba who have raised the legitimate demand that the United States of America return the base of Guantanamo. We support the just struggle of the people and Government of Panama to recover their true sovereignty and total jurisdiction over the Canal Zone. We underline our support of the Puerto-Rican people in its struggle for full enjoyment of its national rights.



Fifthly, the profound changes that have taken place in the international arena during the past three decades obviously call for a renewal of the structure of UNO and a revision of its Charter to adapt them to the present realities and to bring them in line with the aspirations of all peoples who want to be masters of their own destiny, and to make use of their national resources in complete independence and sovereignty, to establish international relations based on justice and equality in a new world founded on true independence, democracy, social progress and peace, free from imperialism, neo-colonialism, racism and all other forms of domination and foreign exploitation. The chief aim in revising the Charter must be to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the search for solutions to the most important and serious problems of the world today, which is overshadowed by the problems of the Third World.

Furthermore, the U.N. must be put in a position to effectively enforce the resolutions of our General Assembly. To this end it is first of all necessary to bestow the high responsibilities of our world organization primarily on those personalities who have an excellent knowledge of the problems of the Third World, who have proved their determination to serve this cause and who possess the confidence of the Third-World countries.

In addition, it is necessary to find a solution to the present anachronism by which the rich great powers still hold sway over UNO, especially in the Security Council, whereas the countries of the Third World prove themselves an ever-growing power in the international arena as well as in the midst of our General Assembly. This anachronism damages and weakens UNO's role. It is obvious that the role, the composition and the regulations of the Security Council would gain by being modified in accordance with the new realities in the world. The abolition or at least the limitation of the Veto should be seriously considered. Its application has indeed merely served to protect the privileges of the rich great powers against the interests of the Third World. The Veto has in fact been used to oppose suitable and just measures adopted by the majority of UNO members against states which violated the Charter, has paralysed UNO's efforts in the search for solutions to the Palestinian problem and the problem of decolonization on Southern Africa. Similarly, the use of the Veto to oppose the admission of new members into the midst of our organization is a check to the further progress of the Third World.

If one really intends to strengthen UNO's role in the present day, it is indispensable that the decisions concerning the world's great problems should no longer be the prerogative of the rich great powers but should be the responsibility of all states, great or small, on the basis of complete equality. And the body in which such a responsibility could be most efficiently exercised is our General Assembly, where all states are represented and whose influence and power would gain by being extended and made more efficient. The revision of the Charter and the new structure of UNO are of great



importance and far-reaching consequences. They must therefore be adapted to the irreversible development of our world to a better and juster world. The effectiveness of UNO's actions is bound to the answers it provides and the positions it takes up when faced with new realities in the world.

Sixthly, the Sea Law Conference has come to a stand-still. The main reason is the obstinacy with which the great maritime powers defend their privileges and refuse to respect the sovereign rights of other coastal countries. Our Delegation would like to repeat here the position of Democratic Kampuchea on a certain number of problems.

Democratic Kampuchea is of the opinion that the sea should be put to the service of the development of the peoples' welfare and prosperity, of peace and justice. The new Sea Law regulations must safeguard all states, and most particularly the developing states, from any menace to their security, their sovereignty or territorial integrity. Freedom of shipping and the development of international trade cannot be allowed to serve as a pretext for limiting the sovereignty of the coastal states and their jurisdiction over the sea's natural resources. In line with these principles, Democratic Kampuchea again points out that she cannot accept "peaceful passages" through her territorial waters which she fixed at 12 sea miles in September 1969. These so-called "peaceful passages" are in fact used again and again by certain great sea powers and their allies for purposes of espionage and subversion against our country and our people.

Democratic Kampuchea wholeheartedly supports the jurisdiction of every coastal state over an exclusive economic zone of 200 sea miles which does not form part of the high sea. Within this economic zone, the coastal state has sovereign and exclusive jurisdiction with regard to exploration and exploitation, safeguarding and administration of all natural resources on and beneath the sea-bed and its soil, and of the overlying waters. No one can be admitted, on whatever pretext, to come and exploit these resources without prior permission by the coastal state. Such an act constitutes a violation of the littoral state's sovereignty.

As to the continental shelf, Democratic Kampuchea is of the opinion that the coastal state has full and unrestricted sovereignty with regard to exploration and exploitation of its natural resources. This sovereignty is not subjected to any limitation or reservation whatsoever, that is to say, if the coastal state chooses for its own reasons not to explore its continental shelf or to exploit its natural resources, no one else may undertake such activities, under whatever circumstances or pretexts, without the express permission of the coastal state.

Democratic Kampuchea categorically opposes any fait accompli detrimental to her interests and any foregoing, present or forthcoming foreign action or undertaking which could violate her sovereign rights to her continental shelf.



As concerning the exploration and exploitation of the sea's resources in the international zone which is the common heritage of Mankind, we are of the opinion that only a qualified international Authority, equipped with the necessary powers, can defend the legitimate interests of the developing countries.

Mr. President,

Problems of economic development remain the major preoccupation of our world. For 4 years now, the countries of the Third World have united their efforts to replace the present international economic order. This outdated system, based on relations of domination, exploitation and dependence, enabled the developed countries to enrich themselves very rapidly and to live in superfluity and wastage, whereas the developing countries get poorer from day to day, and having acquired their political independence, still remain confronted with the dramatic problems of misery, malnutrition, hunger, sickness and illiteracy. The terms of trade continue to deteriorate for these developing countries, because the basic products and raw materials they possess are constantly devaluated. Their indebtedness with all the resulting financial implications is growing in a tragic manner. Furthermore, these unequal and unjust relations have led to the importation of the economic and financial crisis of the capitalist world with all its consequences, especially inflation, rising prices, devaluation of currency and a sinking standard of living for the population.

To be brief, the gap between the rich and the poor countries is widening more and more. For several reasons the developed countries cannot evade the responsibility they bear for this development, which is becoming ever more alarming. The establishment of a new international economic order based on equality, mutual respect and advantage, on non-interference with the internal affairs of other states has become an urgent necessity.

Numerous international conferences and debates have been held, enabling the developing countries and the developed countries to pass a certain number of resolutions, after tedious negotiations, concerning the establishment of this new international economic order. Although these resolutions were not all satisfactory for the developing countries, not one of them has been put into action. It is obvious that the road that lies ahead is still long and strewn with obstacles set up by the rich great powers in order to preserve their privileges. Experience has taught us all that any abolition of privileges can only be the fruit of an unyielding, persevering struggle full of sacrifices. At the same time, parallel to this common struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order, developing countries are successfully and determinedly leading an unyielding and steadfast struggle to attain economic independence and to consolidate their political independence. To be sure, the countries of the Third World are at present poor, due to being exploited and plundered for centuries by colonialism and then by neo-colonialism within the framework of the existing relations of domination and dependence. But these countries possess a huge human

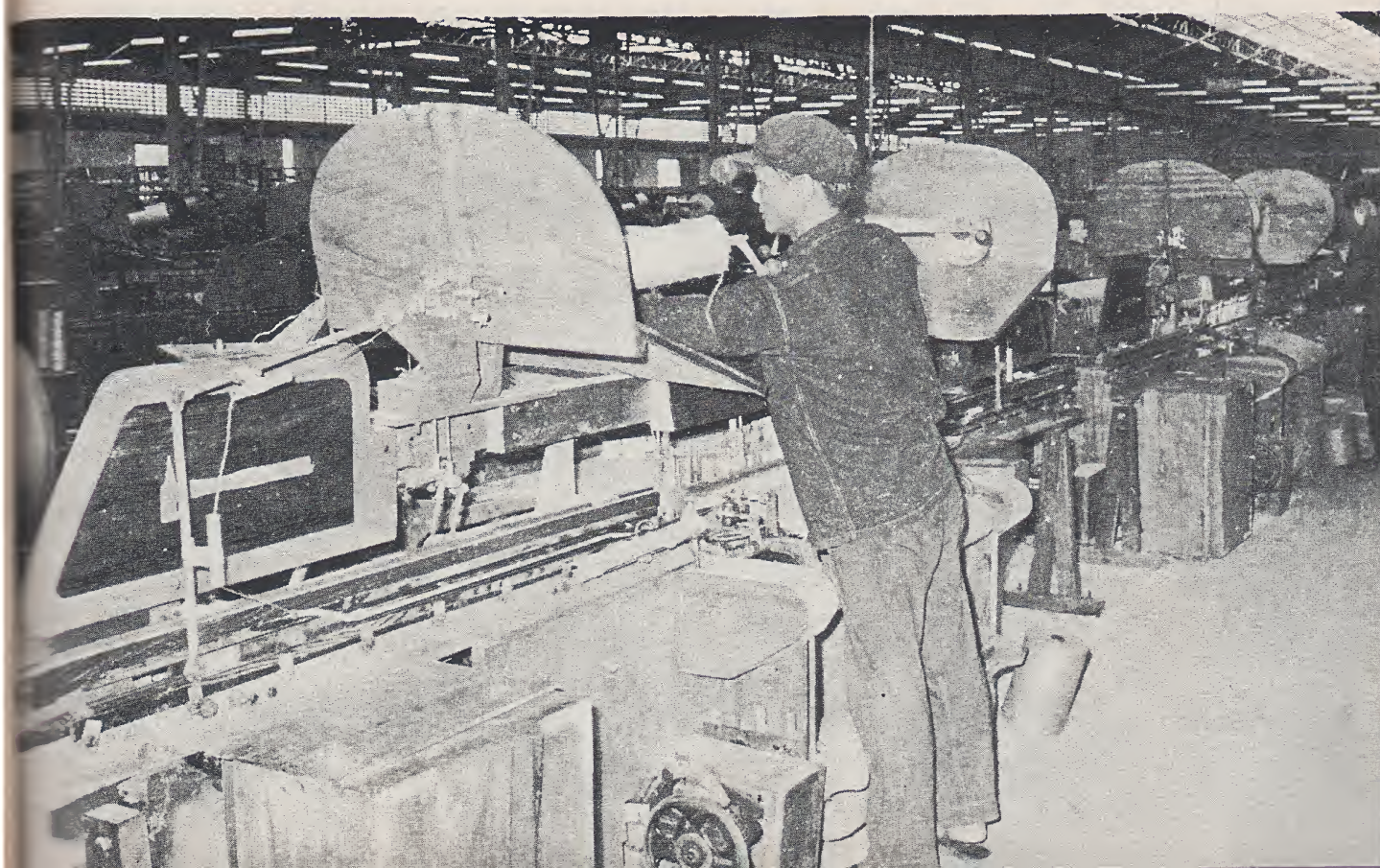




*A general view of a factory for making blankets.*

Alongside traditional textile handicraft which is developing vigorously, teams of workers are organized to run factories day and night, equipped with modern machines or machines made by our workers.

*A jute-sack factory in Don Teav (Battambang) which produces 10.000 sacks a day.*





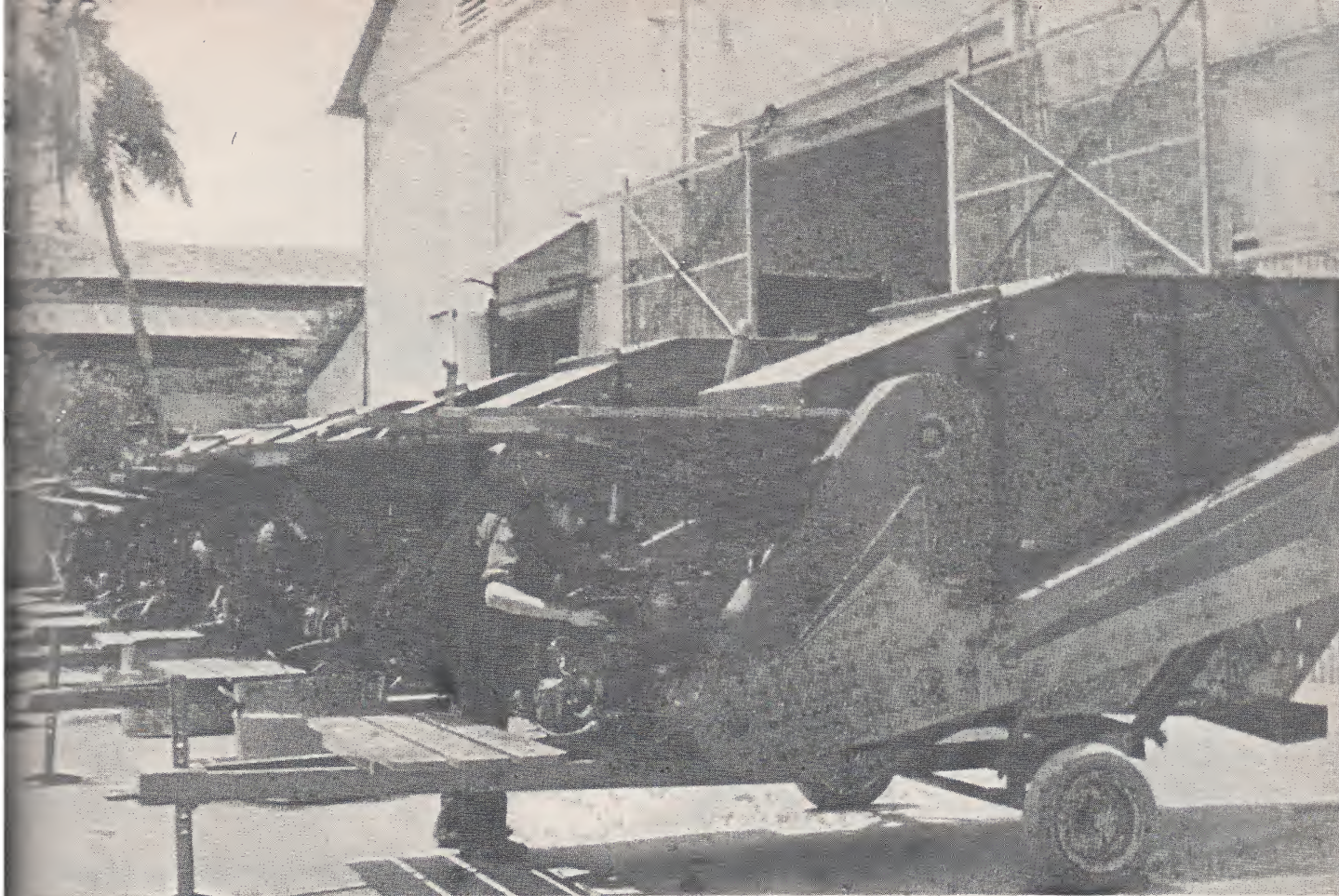


*The entire people take part in reconstruction. Old men do light work, for example basket-making.*

*The pottery workshop in Prek Leap (Kandal Province) employs 100 workers and produces 15.000 units per month.*





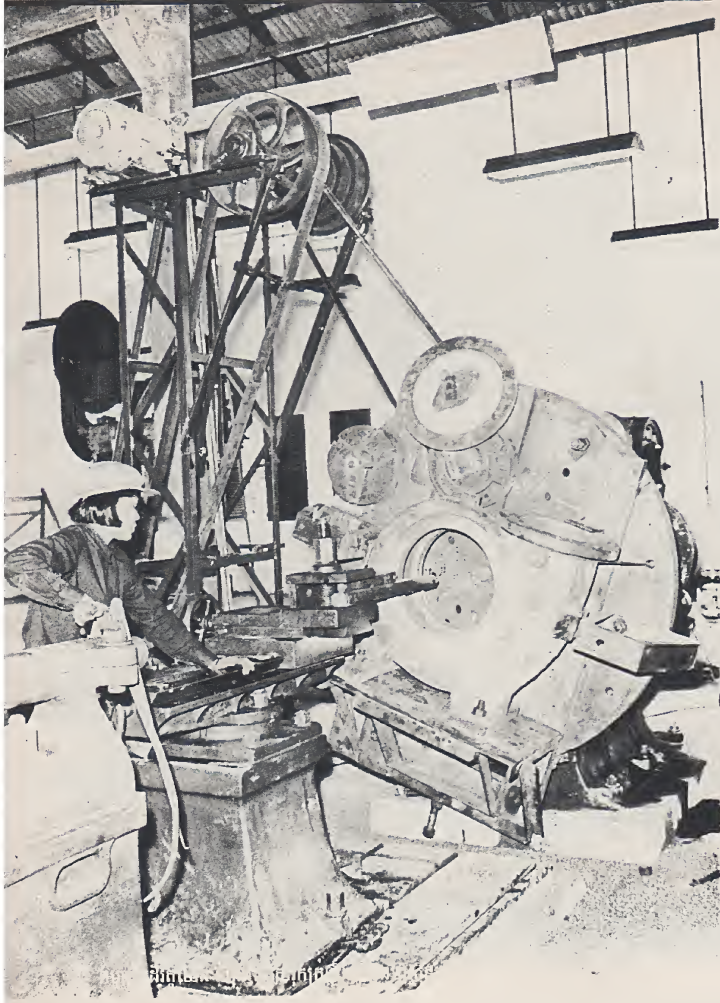


*Thousands of automatic threshing-machines are designed and made by our workers.*

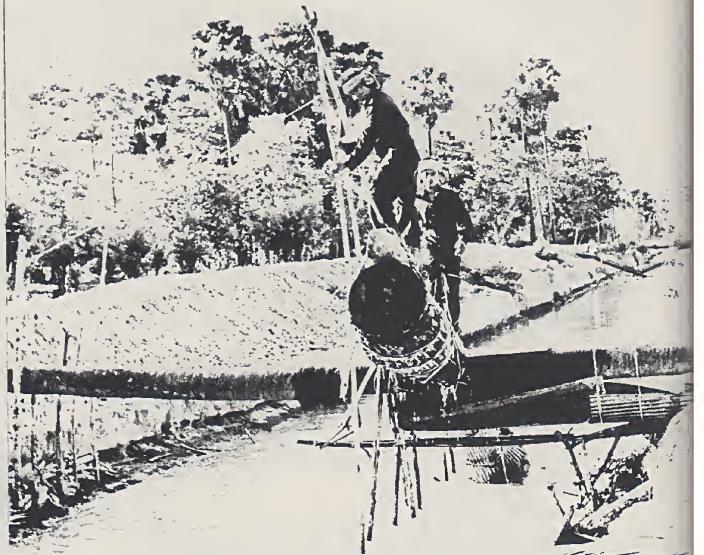
*Each cooperative has its forge which produces articles for everyday use and agricultural instruments (ploughshares, hoes, spades ...).*







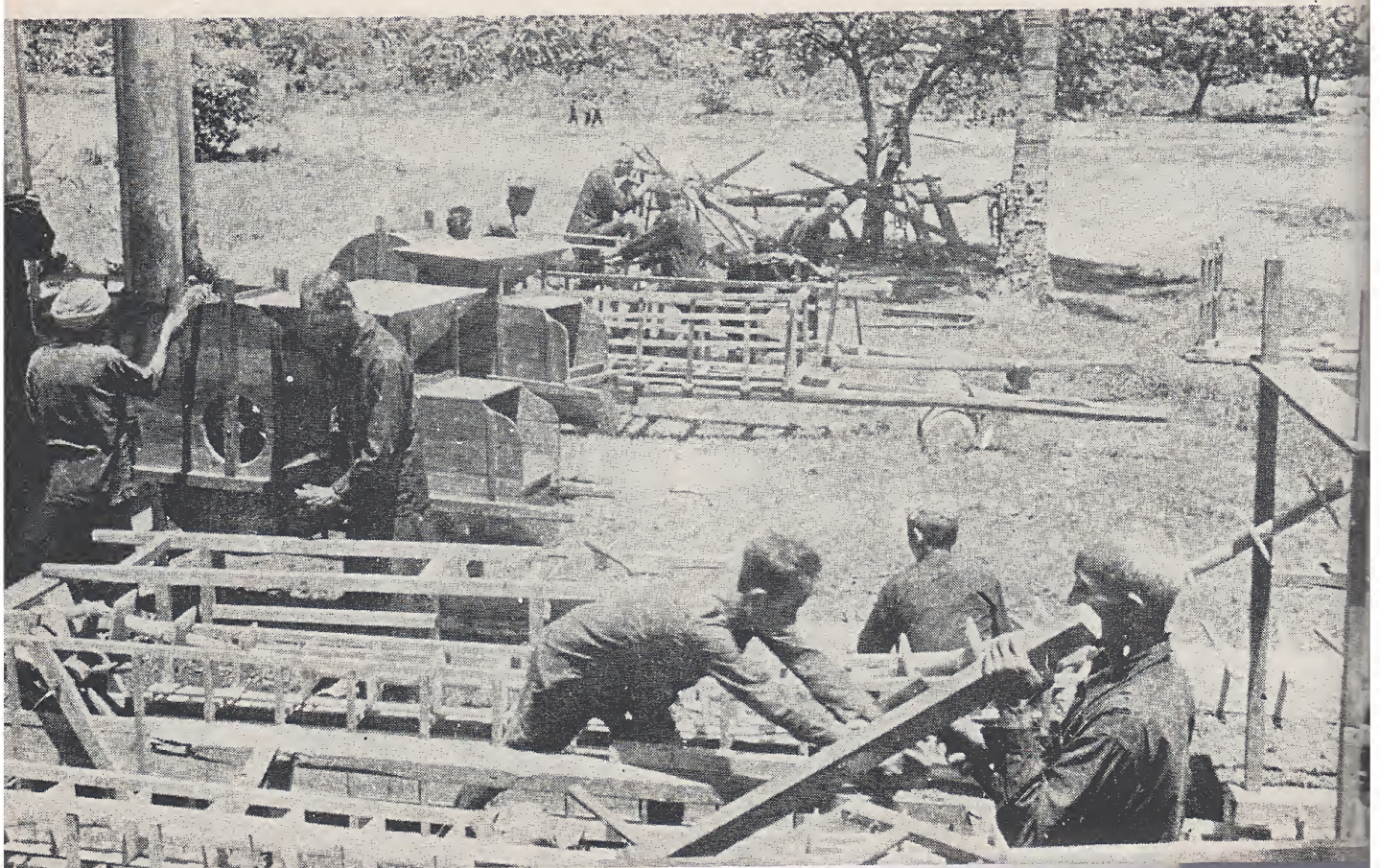
*Making a hydraulic pump.*



ដងថ្លឹងឆ្នៃប្រមូលទឹកធ្វើពីធុងសាង ដែលបងប្អូនកសិករសហគមន៍យើងនៅភូមិភាគនិរតី  
យកមកប្រើប្រាស់ជាន់ទឹកបញ្ចូលស្រែ រាប់រយ រាប់ពាន់ហិកតា

*Two petrol-cans well joined can irrigate several hundred hectare*

*Our carpenters in the cooperatives construct standardized water-wheels and threshing-machines.*





potential and important natural riches. Their mobilization and use to a good purpose will enable a rapid economic development which will not follow the model of the rich countries but one suited to the specific political, economic, social and cultural realities of each nation and people.

Trusting firmly in the energy, the potential and capabilities of their nation and people, many developing countries have achieved encouraging successes in the construction of their economy, basing themselves on the principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance. These principles mean neither self-isolation nor the declared will to live in autarchy and to cut oneself off from international cooperation, nor yet the rejection of all foreign aid. They mean that all efforts towards economic construction must necessarily rely above all on the inexhaustible and creative energy of the people as well as on the utilization of all the resources and the whole potential of the nation. They demand of necessity a resolute and permanent struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of foreign domination and exploitation, a struggle to exercise full national sovereignty over all resources and economic activities of the country, including the sovereign right to nationalize the multinational companies which absorb all the country's energies with the aim of subjecting it to the developed countries. Foreign aid is to be used as a supplement to the efforts of the whole nation provided that it is unconditional, not bound, and that it helps consolidate the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.

Finally, these principles of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance are by no means incompatible with the necessity of strengthening international solidarity and cooperation, especially with the other developing countries, based on mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each others' internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage. More and more countries of the Third World are convinced that they will finally succeed in establishing the new international economic order by means of their determined and unyielding efforts to build a national economy based on the principle of independence, sovereignty and self-reliance in each country, by means of cooperation based on equality, mutual respect, mutual advantage, and non-interference with each others' internal affairs, and by means of their common struggle against all relations of foreign domination and exploitation.

Mr. President,

The numerous victories won by the peoples' liberation struggle cannot make us forget that this struggle must still surmount numerous obstacles in the course of its long and difficult path. The nations and peoples of the Third World must rid themselves of a heavy economic, social and cultural burden, the legacy of colonialism. The peoples who are still oppressed must bear many further sacrifices in order to attain their liberty. Imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism and all forces of foreign domination



and exploitation persist in their policy of oppression, intensify their preparations for war and multiply their manoeuvres of division and diversion. But the oppressed peoples know full well that liberty, equality and human dignity are no free gifts, but must be attained by their own struggle. They first achieved these goals in the epoch in which imperialism ruled the world. They will achieve them with even greater certitude in our present epoch, now that the liberation movement has mobilized all the peoples of the Third World, and all peace- and justice-loving peoples in the world.

By the sacrifices borne in its struggle for national liberation, the people of Kampuchea has made its contribution to the struggle of all these peoples for a better world, where liberty, peace, friendship, democracy, justice and social progress prevail. At present our people continues to make its contribution by its efforts towards the defence and reconstruction of our war-ravaged country.

In the past as in the present and future, the people of Kampuchea is always one with this noble struggle of all peace- and justice-loving peoples and will continue to work to hasten their victory.

Thank You!



9th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
ARMY OF KAMPUCHEA

To celebrate the 9th anniversary of the founding of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, a solemn meeting was held in Phnom Penh on January 16, 1977, uniting leaders of Democratic Kampuchea, representatives of the three Army Corps: Ground, Marine and Air, representatives of all ministries and revolutionary organs and representatives of all organizations of the capital and of all zones and regions of the country.

The President of the Presidium of the State, KHIEU SAMPHAN, the President of the Permanent Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea and Prime Minister p.i. NUON CHEA, all Deputy Prime Ministers, all Presidents of the Committees of State, all Ministers as well as members of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea, cadres of the Military High Committee, the Presidents of all Divisions, fighters, women fighters, cadres and ordinary people attended the meeting.

President NUON CHEA first of all extended warmest greetings to the participants of the meeting on behalf of the Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea, the Military High Committee of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. He then continued:

"Since we are gathered here on this occasion and since meetings to celebrate the 9th anniversary of the founding of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are also being held all over the country, our thoughts will dwell on two points:

- Firstly: the commemoration of this 9th anniversary is an occasion to recall the lofty, revolutionary heroism of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. With great emotion and profound revolutionary sentiments we remember our comrades-in-arms, fighters, women fighters and cadres who made sublime sacrifices throughout the acute, complex, tortuous and difficult revolutionary struggle until the complete and definitive liberation of the country and of the workers and peasants who have become the real masters of the country and their destiny.

- Secondly: this commemoration is also an occasion to recall the time when the Revolutionary Army had nothing but its bare hands, and to express our infinite joy at having our own Revolutionary Army, heroic and unconditionally loyal to the Revolutionary Organization, to the workers and peasants, to the revolutionary power and the beloved motherland.

Since its founding, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has never ceased to strengthen and grow. At first composed of



underground guards and after that guerilla units, it was then made up of regional and regular forces and fought in the guerilla war, the front war, the civil war and the revolutionary war of people's national liberation against the American imperialists and their lackeys until winning the victory of April 17, 1975. Our Army made great ideological, political and organizational progress. Today this Army fulfils all the requisites of a genuine army, which is comprised of three arms: Ground, Marine, Air. It is a truly revolutionary Army and secures the defence of the land and coastal frontiers, air space and the entire territory.

In the thousands of years of their history, our people have never had their own Army as they do today. Therefore this is a subject of great pride and satisfaction for our people, our Army and our Revolutionary Organization, who have struggled for a long time to realize Democratic Kampuchea, with a communally organized people of workers and peasants, a revolutionary power and a courageous Revolutionary Army.

Thus, we express today our respect for the heroism of the Revolutionary Army and our deep satisfaction at having such an Army."

"But", added President Noun Chea, "how can we express our gratitude towards our heroes, fighters, women fighters and cadres of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, who have made the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the liberation of the nation and the people.

How can we express our gratitude to the Revolutionary Army which is fulfilling its tasks of defending and edifying the country, especially of defending the land and coastal frontiers and the territory?

In memory of our fighters, women fighters, cadres and compatriots, let all of us, whether we are in the Army or outside it, commit ourselves to following their example and continuing their revolutionary task. Let us fulfil our revolutionary tasks of national defence and reconstruction, showing a high sense of responsibility and doing our utmost to accomplish them as well as possible. We could then say we had paid our debt of gratitude. That is our determination!

Let us consolidate and develop further our revolutionary principles and in our various activities, important or less important, in all our work, great or small, let us fight! May the commitment to the memory of our heroes strengthen us the more in our determination. Let us show an even greater fervour! When we are faced with obstacles and difficulties, let us recall the commitment made today, to fulfil our task even better! Only in this way can we fulfil our task with the amount of gratitude we owe to the heroes, the best fighters, women fighters and cadres of the Revolutionary Army. Then the blood shed by the Revolutionary Army will not have been in vain, it will have been turned into revolutionary strength. Let each drop of blood be turned into driving strength for the Revolutionary Army, for each one of us and for the people in





*A liason outpost at the front line in Prey Vèng (May 1974) during the war of liberation.*

*Fighters of the Revolutionary Army collect weapons captured from the enemy after the liberation of Phnom Penh.*







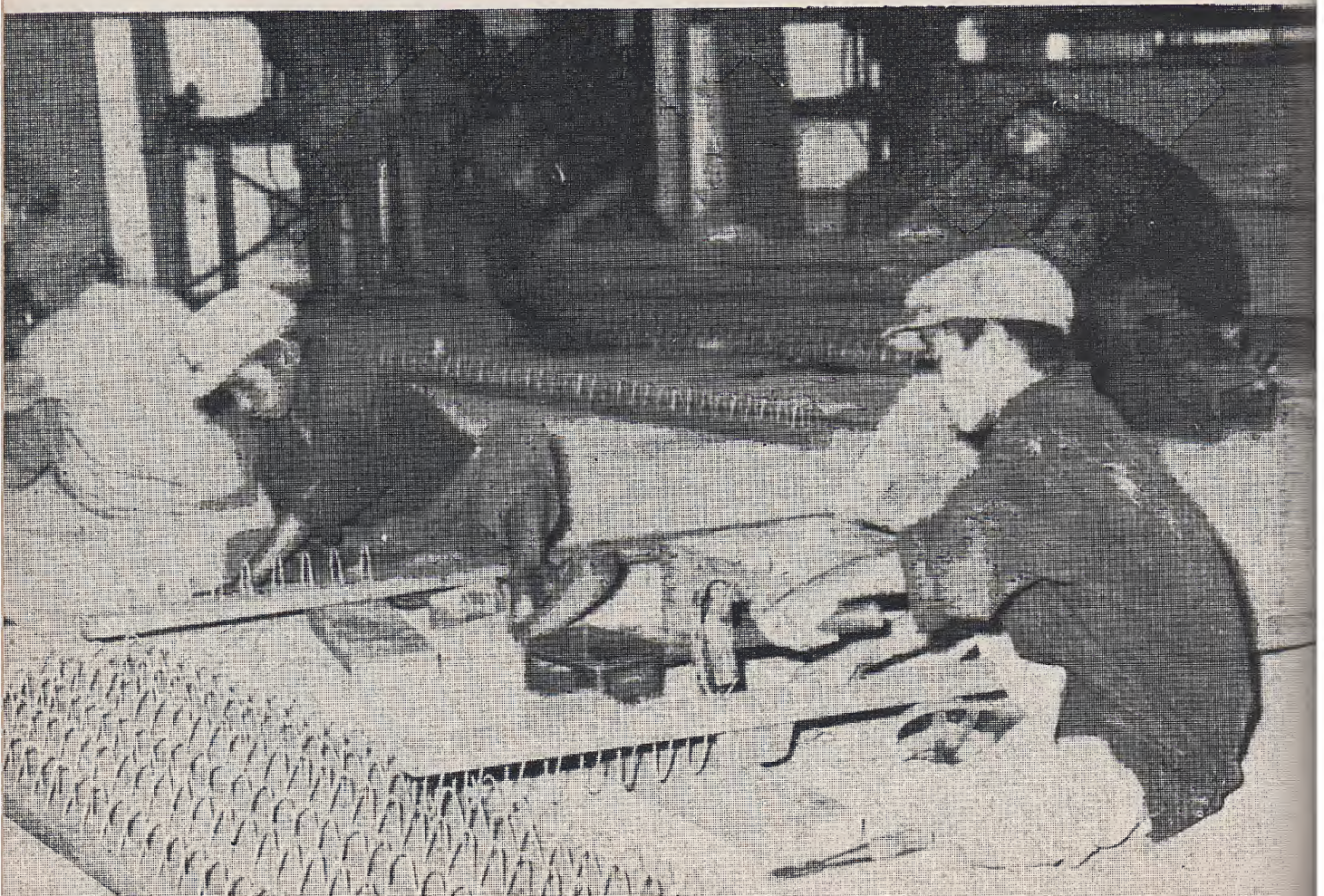
*Rice is growing vigorously around Phnom Penh.*



*Reinforcement work on the Prek Phneou dyke north of Phnom Penh.*

**The Revolutionary Army has transformed the surroundings of Phnom Penh into a luxuriant garden where the cultivation grows all year round.**

*Making threshing-machines in an Army workshop west of Phnom Penh.*





the accomplishment of the revolutionary tasks at the present time.

What are our revolutionary tasks at the present stage? It is to abolish the hundred of years of slavery for ever. On April 17, 1975 our country emancipated itself from slavery and our people liberated itself definitively. On what are we concentrating our efforts at the moment to fulfil our revolutionary tasks well? For 10 years, 100 years, 1 000 years, 10 000 years, 100 000 years it will be to defend Democratic Kampuchea, the communally organized workers and peasants of Kampuchea and to build up Democratic Kampuchea with tremendous leaps. This must be the meaning of our efforts.

Well carried out, our revolutionary tasks will contribute to enhancing the honour and dignity of the nation, humiliated and subjected to slavery for many centuries. Inside the country there was slavery and from outside, we were also enslaved. We have never had any position or played any role. Slave in the sense of an enslaved country and in the sense of an enslaved people.

Today, our country and our people have achieved their liberation. The workers and peasants enjoy all rights. Isn't that an honour? It is indeed an honour and a dignity. April 17, 1975, is the day of glory of our country, our people and our Army. We must preserve this honour and make it more splendid so as not to let it tarnish or be lost.

In a word, to fulfil our revolutionary tasks well is to express our gratitude towards our heroes, fighters, women fighters and cadres, who sacrificed themselves, and is also to defend the honour of the nation and the people. "

In the section devoted to the short history of the Revolutionary Army, President Nuon Chea said:

"January 17, 1968, is the day of the founding of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea. What is the historical significance of this day? At the beginning of 1967, the traitors of the Lon Nol clique unleashed the civil war, savagely, systematically and massively repressing and slaughtering innocent people, patriots and revolutionaries.

January 17, 1968, is the date we fired our first shot. Guerilla units, formerly the underground guards, under the command of the Revolutionary Organization, attacked the enemy camp of Bay Damran, situated on the Songké River, 11 kilometres upstream from Battambang. In the course of this attack, our guerilla units completely destroyed the enemy camp and seized weapons to arm themselves.

January 17, 1968, is both the date of the launching of the people's war in the whole country against the reactionary and counter-revolutionary civil war of the enemy and the date of the founding of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea."



Speaking about the events which brought about the founding of the Revolutionary Army on January 17, 1968, President Nuon Chea mentioned the following details:

"The first shot on January 17, 1968, was no accidental event. It originated in 1960, when the Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea set forth the strategic and tactic line of the national democratic revolution. At that time, the American imperialists, their lackeys and the various exploiting classes exercised a ruthless dictatorship<sup>and</sup> barbarous repression over the people. They had many weapons and means at their disposal and because of this the political struggle alone was not enough to win. In order to wipe them out the Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea stipulated in 1960 that we must recourse to both political violence and revolutionary armed violence and should also build revolutionary forces, in particular a revolutionary army. In 1961, the Underground Guard was founded.

The underground guards carried out underground activities in the villages, bases and towns. Some of them had guns, but on the whole, they had only axes, cleavers, stones, and the recourse to physical violence. Their task was to protect the cadres and the people, and to wipe out the enemy spies and agents who damaged the property of the people. This was their task. They were made up of young workers and peasants or ordinary working people.

As far as I know, there are members of the Division Committees among us who belonged to this Guard, either as liaison agents or as cadre bodyguards.

Each guard possessed a pair of breeches and a krama<sup>1</sup> and was armed with either a gun, a crossbow, a knife or an axe. Their numbers grew and grew and they ensured the safety of the cadres satisfactorily; but a number of them were killed. The enemy succeeded in taking guards and cadres prisoner. The fighters of this period belonged all to the Underground Guard. They protected the cadres, safeguarded the places of work and of meetings and the sending of messages. These were very dangerous missions. A cadre could not go to a neighbouring village without the protection of an underground guard, at the risk of being taken by the enemy. At the same time, these underground guards were well acquainted with the situation in the village and in the district and knew everything about the enemy soldiers and police: their habits of playing cards and drinking, their transfers and the paths of their transfers. That's why the guards guided the cadres everywhere. What a noble task!

Those are some of the facts about the Underground Guard. The guards, at the best of times with an "Enfield" or a "36" in their hands, were inspired with a absolute determination.

<sup>1</sup> a krama is a long cotton shawl, used by the peasants, as a towel, head-covering against the sun, scarf, etc.  
(see cover picture)



Therefore our weapons were feared, in spite of their limited number. The cadres, forced to move from place to place in their work, were very close to the guards, who in turn afforded them every protection.

The Underground Guards grew year by year and five years later, in 1966, they were present in every revolutionary base, the smallest unit comprising three persons. The members of the Underground Guard formed the core of the future army.

January 17, 1968, which was chosen as the founding date of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea, was neither an accidental nor a fabricated event. This event took place in the context of the movement of struggle according to our strategy, our tactic and our activities. As the first step an Underground Guard was created. Then it became guerilla units. These guerilla units opened fire in Battambang and spread the guerilla war all over the country, making enemy resistance impossible. If this event had not been calculated, if we had attacked at random without a strategy and without tactics, the enemy could have wiped us out in a single battle. Why could the enemy do nothing against us?

In 1968, the number of guns seized from the enemy was still very limited, but that did not matter! Because the determining factor is not the number of guns. The determining factor is to fight together.

So, in January the insurrection broke out in the north-west and in February spread to the south-west. The enemy could not concentrate its forces in the north-west since it was held up in the south-west. When another insurrection took place in the east, the enemy had to dispatch some of its forces to the east. The result was that the enemy had to scatter its forces. Insurrections broke out in the north-east, so the enemy sent a contingent there. Insurrections broke out in the north, it sent yet another contingent up there. In the month of April, 1968, the guerillas had spread to 17 out of 19 provinces.

What could the enemy do in a situation where the revolutionary guerilla units were simultaneously active all over the country? It could do nothing against us, but we, on the contrary, were in the offensive.

To sum up, the enemy was powerless against us because we had made detailed preparations. The Army had been founded on the basis of the organized underground forces, according to the well-defined plans concerning the line, the strategy and the tactics and after repeated tests. Because of its origin in the movement, our Army is very powerful. A power which is not due to weapons, which were below standard, nor to the forces which were few in number, but to the Revolutionary Organization's correct line on the people's war. Those who applied this line correctly emerged from the movement, they are the members of the Underground Guard who were moulded in the movement and mastered the guerilla line of the Revolutionary Organization. They were the guerilla cadres and the core of the Army.



Our Army did not emerge from a military academy, it has been brought forth by the revolutionary movement itself and started from nothing. Adhering to the line of the Revolutionary Organization and mastering it, our Army launched attacks, either with bare hands or with guns. That is what gave it its strength. An army that can only fight with cannons and sophisticated weapons is not strong. On the other hand, an army that has started from nothing, born out of the revolutionary movement and that gradually develops, such an army is very powerful. That is the history of our Army."

With regard to the victory of April 17, 1975, President Nuon Chea said:

"It is essential to grasp the meaning of the achievements of the revolution. Did we have planes to conquer the American imperialists? It is good to remember it always. Let us remember it this year and in the years to come, let us remember it even in 1980, in 1990, in the year 2000, in the year 3000, let us always remember it! Did we have planes when we conquered the American imperialists, the most powerful imperialists in the world?"

No. We did not even have boats or tanks, and the few cannons we possessed were the booty of war. Our Army had neither planes, nor tanks, nor cannons. It had barely enough munition! But we won.

Why never forget the circumstances in which we achieved the great victory? To grasp well that our Army is powerful. Wherein lies its power? Its power lies precisely in its ideological, political and organizational level and in the correctness of the line of struggle.

This historic commemoration of the founding of the Revolutionary Army allows us to see better the greatness and strength of the Revolutionary Army, and if we continue to consolidate and develop it, no enemy will ever be able to attack us. Our Army is not an army of aggression but in the case of aggression by whatever country, it will fight with the people for as many years as necessary, adhering to this line. If we had had planes, boats, tanks and cannons but not mastered the line of the people's war and the military line of the Revolutionary Organization, our strength would not have been that of our Army when it conquered the American imperialists and had neither planes, nor boats, nor tanks.

Let us always remember: What the circumstances were, what material we used, what the political consciousness was when we conquered the American imperialists. This merits a detailed examination."

President Nuon Chea continued stressing the task of continuing to build, consolidate and develop the Revolutionary Army. He pointed out in particular:

"From its founding until the present day, throughout the long years of revolutionary struggle, the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea has stood innumerable tests, using revolutionary



violence in complex and tortuous situations, conducting guerilla warfare within the frame of an acute civil war, and for five years courageously waging the people's national liberation war through all kinds of difficulties until the great victory of April 17, 1975, was won. To bring about this victory, our Army has indisputably high qualities on the political, ideological and organizational levels and has perfectly grasped the military line of the Revolutionary Organization and its line of people's war and of struggle.

What are the tasks of the Army today? Do they stop there or do they go on? Should the qualities of the Army remain at this point or should they continue to flourish? The qualities of our Army shown up today deserve our pride and satisfaction. Nevertheless, we must continue to build, consolidate and develop our Army to increase its capacity for defence and its participation in national reconstruction."

Speaking of the situation in national reconstruction, President Nuon Chea, emphasized the need to consolidate and develop the principles of independence, and sovereignty and of self-reliance. He said:

"Experience has taught us that by rigourously relying on our own strength, the revolution, the liberation of the country, defence and national reconstruction develop well and achieve success.

During the five years of the war of aggression of the American imperialists, which aimed at destroying everything and went beyond the limits of barbarity, we tackled the economic problems. We did not import a single grain of paddy. We managed to become self-sufficient. Of course we met with difficulties, but we always found their solutions.

What about our plan for 1976? Are we able to apply the measures laid down by the State, concerning the supply of rice? The reports coming in from all regions since the beginning of the month and the visits we paid recently allow us to conclude that the measures have been completely applied everywhere. The production of paddy has attained the objectives laid down in the plan for 1976. The production plans for rubber were also fulfilled. The same applies to the production of cereals and industrial crops..

Emerging from a war that caused immense destructions, we have successfully fulfilled our plan 100%, in full independence and sovereignty, and by relying on our own strength to overcome innumerable obstacles. What was possible during the war is also possible afterwards. We must cherish this tradition and strengthen and develop this principle to vigorously safeguard national defence and reconstruction. Besides, our strength will not cease to grow because we have more and more experience."

President Nuon Chea ended his speech by talking about the prospects for the future:



"The revolutionary situation is developing well in all fields. The revolution in Kampuchea is being consolidated and developed further in all fields, moving from progress to progress. This is the general situation at the present. In 1977 the situation will surely develop even better than in 1976."

Coming to a close, on behalf of the Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea, the Military High Committee of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, President Nuon Chea wished all the representatives of the Revolutionary Army present at the meeting, and through them, all the fighters, women fighters and cadres at the land and coastal frontiers and all over the country, good health and new victories in the accomplishment of their tasks in the new stage of the revolution, in defence as well as in their participation in the reconstruction of Democratic Kampuchea.

The end of the speech was marked by resounding hails: "Long live the Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea!", "Long live the revolution of Kampuchea!", "Long live the people of Kampuchea!", "Let us hail the 9th Anniversary of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!", "Long live the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea!", "May the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea launch offensives in tremendous leaps in national defence and reconstruction in the new stage of the revolution!".

After the speech by the President of the Permanent Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea and Prime Minister p.i., representatives of the Staff of all Revolutionary Army corps from every zone and region, representatives of ministries and organs also spoke and pledged their determination to learn from the history of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea and to imbue themselves with the spirit of sacrifice, fighting spirit, revolutionary heroism and the high sense of collectivity shown by the heroes who sacrificed themselves for the cause of the people's national liberation and for the revolutionary cause of our people.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of great unity of struggle and victory.



### MY GRANDMOTHER WAS NOT MAD !

This moving story traces the life of a young nurse and through all the turnings, the history of the liberation struggle of the people of Kampuchea, led by the Revolutionary Organization. The immense sacrifices made by the poor, their boundless devotion to the revolution during the long hard years had not been in vain. Today their true representatives, who come directly from the underground or from faraway villages, from forests full of wild animals and mosquitoes or from the mountains, are sitting in every organ of revolutionary power. Most of them originate from poor peasant families which the ruling classes of the old regime had written off as good-for-nothings and ignoramuses.

Here is the story:

I am the youngest of a poor peasant family from Prambey Mum (Thong District, Kompong Speu Province) and have been an orphan since I was very small. I learned what had happened to my parents from my grandmother and the villagers.

At the end of 1954, the reactionary traitors began a campaign of ruthless repression in the countryside. Patriots who had fought against the French colonialists were taken prisoner and butchered at random. Faced with this crucial situation, my father and other militants left the village.

One month later, enemy troops surrounded the village with the intention of arresting my father. After they had set fire to our hut and those of many other villagers and still found no trace of my father, they headed for my mother. I was only two years old at the time and just able to walk. The moment she realized the danger, my mother handed me over to my grandmother with the words:

"Mother, bring up my child to become a revolutionary later and avenge her parents."

The enemy soldiers brutally dragged my mother and my five older brothers and sisters into their car and took them away.

My mother was subjected to the most savage torture by the enemy in an attempt to discover the hideout of my father and the other cadres. They went so far as to take hold of my brothers and sisters and break their arms and legs before her



very eyes. But no physical or moral torture could break my mother. On the contrary, her hatred for the enemy burned deeper than ever.

After ten days of torture, the enemy still got nothing out of my mother. At the end of their tether, they dragged her away to be buried alive with my five brothers and sisters. At the burial spot itself, the enemy tried one last trick: if my mother revealed my father's hiding-place, her life and those of her five children would be spared. But my mother said:

"Children, rather die than live under the yoke of exploitation of these traitors. We will die but the entire people will rise up to wipe out the traitors and avenge us."

The enemy began to bury my mother and her five children alive. But my mother, almost completely buried and at the point of choking, hurled these words into the enemy's face:

"Long live the Revolutionary Organization of Kampuchea! The revolution of Kampuchea will be victorious! The traitors will be wiped out!"

Buried alive by the enemy, my mother and my five brothers and sisters had made the supreme sacrifice.

As soon as my grandmother heard this news she took me back to the village. She did not cry but she had changed. Her only thought was to annihilate the enemy and each time she saw one anywhere near the village, she would threaten him with a stick and demand the return of her daughter and grandchildren. But she never looked for trouble with the other villagers.

The villagers looked after us with great care. They used to help my grandmother with all the bigger work like ploughing, sowing and harvesting and often brought her prepared meals. My grandmother would pound rice, fetch water and cook.

We lived like that until 1968. I was already sixteen and well able to do all the work for my grandmother. I also joined the village mutual-aid team.

In that year the whole people waged a combined armed and political struggle, under the leadership of the just and farsighted Revolutionary Organization, the young people took to the forests in great numbers. The enemy intensified their repression and made attacks on our villages day and night. But the Revolutionary Army used to emerge often from the forests to annihilate the enemy, inflicting a great many deaths and casualties on them each time. Whenever my grandmother heard shots, she used to say:

"Ah, those are my grandchildren defeating our enemies."

At the end of 1968 the struggle increased. The enemy wanted to move the village population nearer to their outpost.

"If anyone helps the Red Khmer, the whole village will be butchered," they threatened.

One day I noticed my grandmother was spreading more paddy than usual.

"Why are you spreading so much paddy?" I asked her.

"Don't say a word to anyone, but try your best to pound it all today," she replied.





*A team of women cooks of the Revolutionary Army during the war of liberation against US imperialists and their lackeys.*

*A medical service team from a cooperative visiting the peasants, to advise on health and explain the rules of hygiene.*





*Technical schools have been opened.  
Our pupils come there to do concrete studies  
and concrete work.*



*Practical tasks are entrusted to the children  
of the cooperatives outside class-hours  
(for example looking after cattle).*





I always did everything my grandmother said. I pounded and fanned all the paddy and my grandmother hid it.

Three days later she spread more paddy. I was amazed but did not dare ask her anything.

-"Grandmother, where are you going? Let me come with you."

She put her arms around me and whispered:

-"If you know, hear or see anything, don't tell a soul. Pretend you know nothing and understand nothing."

We took half a sack of rice each and left.

When we arrived at the edge of the forest, I saw a group of people loading rice and talking softly. I was beginning to understand.

My grandmother began talking about my father, my mother and my five brothers and sisters who had been buried alive by the enemy. Tears came to my eyes and my grandmother said with a smile, "Don't cry." Pointing out the road I was to take, she said:

-"You must follow in your parents' footsteps and continue the revolution to avenge them and your brothers and sisters. The revolution has now burst out all over the country - that's the path you must follow in order to develop, for your future and the future of all poor peasants."

At that moment I realized that my grandmother was not mad, but that for over ten years her heart had been glowing with class-hatred. In those days she used to rant and rave at the enemy and they took it she was mad, but in fact she had used a form of struggle the enemy could never have suspected. At the same time she brought me up to carry on the revolution and avenge my parents and the people.

I began to love my grandmother even more. Class-hatred was smouldering inside me and my thirst for avenge nearly made my heart burst.

In the middle of 1969 I went into the forests and became a cook in the Army. I fulfilled this task with enthusiasm and went off each day through the forest to look for sweet potatoes, manioc and fruit to make soup and other dishes. The "uncle" fighters must eat well and remain strong to annihilate the enemy.

In the evenings the "uncle" fighters taught me reading and arithmetic. At the same time, the Organization educated me politically and organizationally.

Within a short time, I changed from being a lonely orphan without a future to a revolutionary young girl full of fierce hatred for the enemy and learned to live in the warmth of the great revolutionary family.

Then the "uncle" fighters gave me elementary training in medicine. I quickly learned how to give injections and apply bandages. I worked both in the kitchen and as a nurse.

After the Coup d'Etat on March 18, 1970, the revolutionary movement spread and developed in all areas.



At the beginning of 1971, the Organization decided I should study medicine. After six months of study I tried very hard to put theory into practice at the front, with the fighters of the Revolutionary Army. Although I still lacked experience and knowledge, I did my utmost to serve the front, using all my physical, moral and intellectual strength and always ready to give my life for the revolution, taking part in the annihilation of the enemy until the glorious historic victory of 17th April, 1975.

My parents gave me life, my grandmother and the people brought me up, but the Revolutionary Organization educated and formed me ideologically and morally, as well as my outlook and ideas. I have become a young revolutionary girl with a noble ideal and a glorious future. I feel great joy in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to me by the Organization as a contribution to the defence of the country and its reconstruction in tremendous leaps.



LONG LIVE 17th APRIL, DAY OF LIBERATION OF PHNOM PENH

(Song - translation not in verse<sup>1/</sup>)

Let's aim our guns and rifles, let's fire  
On the nest of bandits in Phnom Penh.  
The Liberation Army, fast as lightning,  
Intrepid assaults the big traitors.

The Lon Nol-clique wishes to flee the country!  
Let's advance and pursue this clique down to its nest!  
Let's crush it for ever,  
This regime, these big traitors.

April 17th 1975,  
Oudong is taken, Phnom Penh liberated.  
All our spearheads meet  
Right in the heart of Phnom Penh.

The enemy is beaten in the north, we move upstream,  
Our victorious guns from the north-east are still crashing,  
But already over the Court of Chaktomouk  
The revolutionary banner is waving.

The victory is grand, historic,  
The people of Kampuchea is prodigious.  
The Revolutionary Army, heroic sons,  
Their fame as victors is great.

Long live the prodigious people of Kampuchea!  
Long live the victorious Liberation Army!  
Conqueror of barbaric US-aggression,  
This victory is historic and renowned.

At 9.30, resounding drums and shouts  
Climbing to the sky.  
The population of Phnom Penh hails, cheerers  
And shouts : "Cheyo!"

We've liberated Phnom Penh.  
We've thrown out the US-bandits  
And their lackeys.  
We've liberated our beloved Kampuchea.

Long, long live the new Kampuchea  
Democratic, progressive, renowned,  
Independent, non-aligned!  
Her glory is everlasting.

<sup>1/</sup> The English translation does not allow to render to this song its whole beauty and revolutionary spirit.